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ON THE MEDIAN DYNASTY;

ITS NATIONALITY AND ITS CHRONOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR JULIUS OPPERT.

THE Persian kings wrote their architectural documents in three languages and three distinct kinds of writing, the first of which is the Old Persian, and the third the Assyrian. The second kind had been called formerly by Rawlinson, Westergaard, and De Saulcy Median; but, as this language is clearly a Turanian one, and as the known geographical names of Media are almost all Aryan, I proposed, already in 1851, to call that kind of scriptures Scythic, and this name was adopted by Norris and Spiegel. I must confess that this denomination was erroneous, and I am now able to prove that this second kind of writing represented actually the language of the second great dynasty of Asia, called Median by the ancient writers. Herodotus (vii. 62) states that the Medes were called formerly Arioï, and they adopted afterwards the latter name. As Mada is itself the Sumerian word signifying land, this change of name coincided exactly with a Turanian invasion. The Turanian name became a geographical one, in spite of all Aryans inhabiting the soil, and who caused the Aryan name to survive the intruded one; to-day the land has recovered the old name of Iran.

Many reasons can be given to prove that, geographically, the second kind of the trilingual inscriptions was that of Media. Some scholars believed the language to be the Elamite or Susian. We have the inscriptions of Susiana, for which we are indebted to the British explorer, W. Kenneth Loftus. The name Elamite is badly chosen for these texts, as the term would point out rather a Semitic tongue; on

the contrary, the language of the Susian inscriptions is of the same family as the Median, but by no means identical, and offers a good deal of distinct flexions and words. The Medians call Susiana (the Persian *Uvaka*, the Assyrian *Elamti*) *Hapirtip* or *Habirdip*; the sagacity of Edwin Norris pointed out the identity of the name with the *Amardi* of the Greeks, who inhabited the northern part of the Susian land in proximity to Media. The same word is to be found in the Susian inscriptions, but it is quoted as a part of Susiana; the texts of Susa quote *Habirdip*, accompanied by *Husši* (*Uvaka*, *Khazistan*), *Kussi* (the *Kosseans* of the Greeks), *Nimē* (the *Nimma* of the Assyrian texts), all names of parties in Susiana; the Semitic name of Elam is the only one wanting.

In the Susian texts the rivers Tigris and Euphrates are quoted as *Tiklat* and *Purat*; as well-known streams, they had their own names in this language. The Medians, dwelling far from these rivers, were obliged to take these denominations from the neighbouring nations, and gave to them the sound of *Tigra* and *Ufrato*, as did the Persians. The seat of the people that spoke the second kind of the trilingual idioms inhabited a region distant from Mesopotamia.

But this nation was near to Assyria, the Median name of which is, except that of Persia (*Parsan*), the only geographical term taking the Median termination *an*; Assyria is called *Assuran*. Moreover, the Egyptians had their own Median name, that of *Muzzariyap*, which is not a transcription of the Persian *Mudraya*, but denotes that the nation had direct intercourse with the Nile regions, and that these connexions took place by the way of the Semitic Assyria, where Egypt was called *Muzur*.

The northern Scyths have the name of *Sakka*, which the Persians borrowed from the Medians, who did not employ the Assyrian denomination of *Gimirri* or *Gomer*, the Cimmerians of Herodotus.

The Median metropolis Rhagae is not quoted in the Median text as "a city of Media," as that is the case in the Persian and Assyrian texts; but the Median translation names it merely *Raggan* (with the characteristic *an*), without any further indication, as are quoted Babylon, Ecbatana, Arbela, and Pasargada (*Paisiyawādā* in Persian).

• Because the inhabitants of Media bore formerly the name of *Arioi*, the true Medians are the only people who distinguish in their texts Ormazd as the "god of the Arians," even with the Aryan

genitive form *Arriyanam*, in order to show the distinction between the Ariya and the Mada inhabiting the same soil, according to Herodotus.

Media itself is named *Mada* and *Madape*, the Medias, the lands. And this name of *Mada* is the single one which does not take for the derivative terms the syllable *rra*. A Persian, an Armenian, or Babylonian, are, among others, translated by *Parsarra*, *Arminiyarra*, *Babilurra*; we even read *Habirdirra*, a Susian; a Median is called *Mada*, and not *Madarra*, and this is the single case of this kind. In the idea of the men who wrote the inscription of Behistun, the Medians were a people, and the land had gotten its name from the Turanian conquerors.

Common sense compels us to admit that the language placed between the Persian and the Assyrian, and before the last, must have been the idiom of a great and powerful nation, of some important people and dynasty. In fact, it was the language of the second great empire of Asia, of the kings of the so-called Median dynasty.

The names of these kings have been transmitted to us in two distinct lists, and in each there are quite different names; one is the list of Herodotus, the other that of Ctesias. We are not allowed to eliminate historical statements without examination; unfortunately, modern science is often addicted to this method of criticism; but, in fact, this method is highly uncritical. It is, indeed, easier to reject what we do not understand, than to understand what we ought not to reject. The two lists represent the same individuals, at least for the four latter kings transmitted by Herodotus.

The names given by Herodotus are the Turanian names of the monarchs, aryanized by the Aryan Medes; viz. Dejoces, Phraortes, Cyaxares, Astyages (or Astiÿges). These forms have, in the Aryan language, a meaning quite different from the Median original: the names given by Ctesias, followed by Diodorus, Eusebius, and Moses of Chorene, are the mere translation of the original Median meaning, in Persian or Arian language; viz. Artæus, Artynes, Astibaras, Astyages.

This is the rule for the four latter names. Diodorus gives five former kings, who have been reduced to three by almost all scholars. These five names are Arbaces, Modaces, Sosarmus, Artycas, and Arbianes. The two latter kings are evidently different Turanian names of Dejoces and Phraortes; Arbaces is a Median word signify-

ing the first, the foregoing ; Modaces and Sosarmus have not yet been explained. Here follows the explanatory figures :

Median name, with signification.	Aryanization, with signification.	Aryan translation of the Median meaning.
<i>Arbek</i> , the foregoing	<i>Arbaka</i>	
	(<i>Maudaces</i>)	
	(<i>Sosarmus</i>)	
<i>Hartaukku</i> , establisher of law	<i>Artuka</i> (<i>Artycas</i>)	
<i>Varbiyanna</i> , assembling of all (nations)	<i>Harwiyana</i> (<i>Arbianes</i>)	
<i>Dayauku</i> , establisher of law	<i>Dāhyuka</i> (<i>Dejoces</i>).....	<i>Artayu</i> (<i>Artaeus</i>)
<i>Pirruwarti</i> , assembler of all (nations)	<i>Fravartis</i> (<i>Phraortes</i>).....	<i>Harwīna</i> (<i>Artynes</i>) ¹
<i>Vak-istarra</i> , lance-bearer	<i>Uvakshatara</i> , having good mules (<i>Cyaxares</i>)	<i>Arstibara</i> (<i>Astibara</i>)
<i>Arse-uggi</i> , having good soldiers	<i>Arstiyuga</i> , combating with lances (<i>Astiyges</i>)	<i>Ucpāda</i> (<i>Aspadas</i>)

The fact of the aryanization of Susian names is proved by the Behistun inscriptions. There occur the following names :

Original Susian.	Aryanization.
<i>Assina</i>	<i>Athrina</i>
<i>Humbadarāva</i>	<i>Upadarma</i>
<i>Issainsakri</i>	<i>Cīndīkhri.</i>

The Susian originals are guaranteed by the Median text ; moreover, *Umbadarā* is quoted in the Asurbanhabal inscriptions as a Susian, and *issan* and *sakri* are also Susian words, existing in the texts of *Sutruk-Nakhuntē*, "mighty ruler of the plain of Susunqu."

With respect to the Median Kings of Diodorus, it is possible, also, that *Artycas* and *Arbianes* are merely other Persian forms for *Artaeus*, as may be the case with the perhaps corrupt *Artynes*.

The canon of the Median Kings, quite in conformity with M. de Saulcy's statements, runs as follows :

	B.C.	B.C.
Arbaces	788—760	
Maudaces	760—740	
Sosarmus	740—710	
Dejoces (<i>Artycas</i> , <i>Artaeus</i>)... ..	710—657	
Phraortes (<i>Arbianes</i> , <i>Artynes</i>)	657—635	
• Cyaxares (<i>Astibaras</i>)	635—595	
Astyages (<i>Aspadas</i>)	595—560	

¹ Perhaps *Aryines*, the same as *Arbianes*.

These are just the 228 years which Herodotus (i. 130) accords to the Median Kings' reigns since their liberation from the Assyrian yoke.

The two dynasties of Media and Persia were quite distinct in nationality and religion. The accession of the Achaemenides with Cyrus marks the victory of the Aryan and of the Zoroastrian faith.

A century before that epoch, the last independent king of Persia, and the sixth of his family, Achaemenes, had been superseded by the Mede Phraortes.

GRAMMAR OF THE MEDIAN LANGUAGE.

All *Median* scholars are greatly indebted to the grammatical outlines of Norris, whose conscientious labours in this new science cannot be overrated. Nevertheless, many points have not been elucidated by him, and notably the Median conjugation.

We will not insist upon the modifications to be introduced in the decipherment of the characters; we will not explain the declensions and suffixes; these are to be exposed in a larger work. Here follows only the conjugation of the Median regular verbs.

The regular verbs are in some instances monosyllabic, very few derived are trisyllabic; the great majority of them are dissyllabic, finishing in *a*, *i*, or *e*, *u* or *o*. Ex. *hutta*, to do; *vaggi*, to bear, to bring, to send; *vite*, to go; *rilu*, to write; *appanto*, to sin.

The conjugation is either active or neuter. The latter of these forms is that of passives.

The primitive form is to be found in the shortened first person of the historical preterite tense; for example:

hutta, I made;
vaggi or *vaggiya*, I brought;
tite or *titeya*, I lied;
kidu or *kiduwa*, I pulled out;
appanto or *appantova*, I sinned.

All personal terminations can be proved, except that of the second plural person. We have only the imperative mood of this person; in the other instances it has been supplied by analogy.

The preterite tense forms with the addition of *ta* or *ti* the plu-perfect or imperfect; with *ra*, the indefinite preterite; with *nē*, the precativ mood.

We choose for paradigm the verb in *i*, *kuti*, to bring.

ACTIVE VERB OF THE RADICAL FORM.

PRETERITE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutiya* or *kuti*, I brought
 2 p. *kutiki*
 3 p. *kutis*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutiyut*
 2 p. *kutikip*
 3 p. *kutiyas* or *kutis*

PLUPERFECT OR IMPERFECT.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutita* or *kutiti*, I had brought
 2 p. *kutikita*
 3 p. *kutista*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutiyutta*
 2 p. *kutikipta*
 3 p. *kutiyasta* or *kutista*

INDEFINITE TENSE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutira*, I have brought
 2 p. *kutikira*
 3 p. *kutira*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutiyutra*
 2 p. *kutikipra*
 3 p. *kutiyasra* (*kutira*)

PRECATIVE MOOD.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutinē*, may I bring
 2 p. *kutikinē*, mayst thou bring, imperative
 3 p. *kutisnē*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutiyutnē*
 2 p. *kutikipnē*
 3 p. *kutiyasnē* (*kutisnē*)

PRESENT TENSE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivañ* or *kutivara*, I bring
 2 p. *kutivainti*
 3 p. *kutivanra* (*kutivan*)
 Plur. 1 p. *kutivaniun*
 2 p. *kutivaintip*
 3 p. *kutivampi*

FUTURE TENSE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutiñ*, I shall bring
 2 p. *kutinti*
 3 p. *kutinra*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutiniun*
 2 p. *kutintip*
 3 p. *kutimpi*

IMPERATIVE.

Sing. 2 p. *kutis*, bring thouPlur. 2 p. *kutis*, bring ye

INFINITIVE.

kutivana, to bring

GERUNDIVE.

kutivanra, in order to bring.

PASSIVE CONJUGATION.

Flexion of the Neuter Verbs.

PRETERITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutigit*, I was brought2 p. *kutikti*3 p. *kutik* (*kutikka*, *kutika*)Plur. 1 p. *kutigiyut*2 p. *kutiktip*3 p. *kutip*, *kutippi*, *kutippa*, perhaps instead of *kutikpā*

PLUPERFECT OR IMPERFECT.

Sing. 1 p. *kutigitta*, or *ti*, I had been brought2 p. *kutiktita*3 p. *kutikta*Plur. 1 p. *kutigiyutta*2 p. *kutiktipra*3 p. *kutippa*, *kutippiba*

INDEFINITE TENSE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutigitra*, I have been brought2 p. *kutiktira*3 p. *kutikra*Plur. 1 p. *kutigiyutra*2 p. *kutiktipra*3 p. *kutipra*, *kutippira*

PRÆCATIVE MOOD.

Sing. 1 p. *kutigitnē*, may I be brought2 p. *kutiktinē*3 p. *kutiknē*Plur. 1 p. *kutigiyutnē*2 p. *kutiktipnē*3 p. *kutipnē*

PRESENT TENSE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutivagit*, I am brought2 p. *kutivakti*3 p. *kutivak*Plur. 1 p. *kutivagiyut*2 p. *kutivaktip*3 p. *kutivap*, *kutivappi*, *kutivappa*

IMPERATIVE (neuter verb).

Sing. 2 p. *kuti*, be thou broughtPlur. 2 p. *kuti*, be ye brought

PARTICIPLE.

Sing. *kutik*, *kutika*, broughtPlur. *kutip*, brought

DERIVED VERBS.

Causal Form.

KUTINA, to cause to bring (conjugated like a regular verb in *a*).

ACTIVE PRETERITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutina*, I caused to bring2 p. *kutinaki*3 p. *kutinas*Plur. 1 p. *kutinayut*2 p. *kutinakip*3 p. *kutinavas* (*kutinas*)

PLUPERFECT.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinata*, I had caused to bring

INDEFINITE PRETERITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinara*, I caused to bring

PRECATIVE MOOD.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinanē*, may I cause to bring

PRESENT TENSE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinavañ*, *kutinavara*, I cause to bring

FUTURE TENSE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinañ*, I shall cause to bring2 p. *kutinainti*3 p. *kutinanra*Plur. 1 p. *kutinanium*2 p. *kutinaintip*3 p. *kutinampi*

IMPERATIVE.

Sing. 2 p. *kutinas*, cause to bring

INFINITIVE.

kutinavana, to cause to bring

GERUNDIVE.

kutinanra, in order to cause to bring

PASSIVE OF THE CAUSAL FORM.

PASSIVE PRETERITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinagit*, I have caused to bring

PLUPERFECT.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinagitta*, I had been caused to bring

INDEFINITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinagitra*, I have been caused to bring

PRECATIVE MOOD.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinagitnē*, may I be caused to bring

PRESENT TENSE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutinavagit*, I am caused to bring

IMPERATIVE.

Sing. 2 p. *kutina*, be thou caused to bring

PARTICIPLE.

kutinak, *kutinaka*

INTENSIVE FORM.

KUT(1)KATORRA, to bring forth (conjugated like *kutina*, the causal).

DESIDERATIVE FORM OF THE SIMPLE VERB.

KUTINTUNYU, to will bring (conjugated like a neuter verb).

PRETERITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutiniunyugit*, I would bring

2 p. *kutiniunyukti*

3 p. *kutiniunyk*

Plur. 1 p. *kutiniunyugiyut*

2 p. *kutiniunyuktip*

3 p. *kutiniunyup*, *kutiniunyuppi* (a)

PLUPERFECT.

Sing. 1 p. *kutiniunyugitta*, I had had the intention to bring

INDEFINITE.

Sing. 1 p. *kutiniunyugitra*, I have had the intention to bring

PRECATIVE MOOD.

Sing. 1 p. *kutiniunyugitnē*, may I have the intention to bring

PRESENT.

Sing. 1 p. *kutiniunvagit*, I will bring

IMPERATIVE.

Sing. 2 p. *kutiniunyu*, will thou bring

DERIVATIVE FORM OF THE CAUSAL.

- KUTINANANIUNYU, to have the intention to cause to bring.

RECIPROCAL FORM.

KUTIVANLU, to bring to each other (conjugated like a neuter verb).

PRÆTERITE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivanlugit*, I brought another
 2 p. *kutivanlukti*
 3 p. *kutivanluk*
 Plur. 1 p. *kutivanlugiyut*
 2 p. *kutivanluktup*
 3 p. *kutivanlup*

PLUPERFECT.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivanlugitta*, I had brought another

INDEFINITE.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivanlugitra*, I have brought another

PRÆCATIVE MOOD.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivanlugitinē*, may I bring another

PRESENT.

- Sing. 1 p. *kutivanluwagit*, I bring another

IMPERATIVE.

- Sing. 2 p. *kutivanlu*, bring another

RECIPROCAL FORM OF THE CAUSAL.

KUTINAVANLU, to cause to bring each other.

There are most certainly existing other forms, that are not transmitted to us by the texts.

The neuter verbs are conjugated as the passives.

Several verbs are irregular, and of another conjugation; for instance, *gin*, to be; *nan*, to say.

gini, I am.
ginta
ginri
giniyut ?
gintip
ginripi

nangi, I say.
nainta
nanri
nangiyut
naintip
nanripi

There existed also a neuter form of the verb *gin* :

ginnigît
ginnikîi
ginrik

ginnigiyut
ginnikîip
ginrip

The substantive verb is *da* and *du*. *Duwa* or *dava*, I was ; *dus* or *das*, he was ; *duwan* or *davan*, I am.

The Median language has a much greater affinity to the Tatar idioms than the Sumerian ;¹ but it forms a separate class together with the Susian. I have, for twenty years, paid attention to these most difficult texts, and there are a great number of passages now easily to be understood by the aid of our scanty Median knowledge. My explanations have been laid down in a paper addressed to the first Congress of Orientalists held at Paris (vol. ii. p. 179 ss.).

Unfortunately many Median important words, as the numerals, and many substantive nouns, are only written in ideograms. The phonetic values of two or three only of these are known : these are *unan*, king ; *umman*, house, family.

¹ This is the true name of the original Anarian tongue. The false name of Accadian, for which *no reason has ever been put forth*, must be abandoned. The language of Accad is the Semitic Assyrian idiom. The proof of this scientific truth is to be found in my paper, *Etudes Sumériennes*, first article in the *Journal Asiatique*, *Février, Mars, Avril*, 1875. The arguments I suggest in order to support this opinion are, I believe, irrefutable.